



George Villiers, Duke Marquis & Earle of Buckingham,
 Earle of Couentry, Vicount Villiers, Baron of Waddon,
 High Admirall of England, Ireland, and Principallity
 of Wales, Governour of all the Castles, and Sea ports,
 and of the Royall Nauye, M^r of the Horse, to his
 Ma^{ty} Lord Warden, Chanceller, and Admirall, of 5.
 Singue Ports, etc. Chanceller, of 5. Vniuersity of
 Cambridga, Knight of 5. most Noble Order of 5. Garter,
 and one of Ma^{ty} most Hon^{ble} Priuue Councell, etc.



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A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
LIFE AND
DEATH OF
GEORGE VILLERS,
Duke of Buckingham.

Written by Sir Henry Wotton,
Knight, late Provost of Eaton
Colledge.



LONDON,
Printed for William Sheares.

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HORT VIEW
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THE
LIFE AND
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GEORGE VILLERS,
Late Duke of *Buckingham*.



Determine to write the life, and the end,
the nature, and the fortunes, of *George
Villers*, late Duke of *Buckingham*;
which yet I have not undertaken out
of any wanton pleasure in mine own
pen; Nor truly without often ponder-
ing with my selfe before hand what
Censures I might incurre: for I would not be ignorant
by long observation both abroad and at home; That every
where all Greatnesse of power and favour is Circum-
vested with much prejudice. And that it is not easie for
writers to research with due distinction (as they ought)
in the Actions of eminent personages, both how much
many have bene blemished by the envy of others, and
what was corrupted by their owne felicity, unlesse after
the Period of their splendor, which must needs Dazzell
their

their beholders, and perhaps, often times themselves, we could as in some Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them againe and conferre a while with their naked Ghosts: How ever for my part I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labour, which may on either side restraints or embaste the freedome of my poore judgment: I will therefore steere as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through, the deepe and lubricke wayes of State and Court, till he was swallowed in the Gulfe of folecity.

I finde him borne in the yeece of our Saviour 1591. on the 28. of *August* at *Brookesby* in *Leicester-shire*, where his Ancestors had cheifly continued about the space of fourehundred yeeres, rather without obscurity; then with any great lustre. After they had long before bene seated in *Kinalton* in the County of *Nottingham*, he was the third sonne of *George Villars* Knight, and *Mary* late Countesse of *Buck*, and Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont* of *Co-leorton* Esquier, names on either side well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wild Pamphlet which he published, besides other pittifull, Maglignities would scant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had bene borne, in his first Rudiments till the yeeres of ten. And from thence sent to *Bullifden* Schoole in the same County, where he was taught the principalls of Musicke, and other slight Literature, till the Thirteenth of his age; At which time his father dyed. Then his beautifull and provident Mother, (for those Attributes will not be denyed her) tooke him home to her house at *Goodby*, where shee had him in especiall care, so as he was first, (as we may say,) a Domesticke favorite; But finding him (as it should seeme) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with Conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing Fencing and the like, Not without perchance even then (though far of) at a Courtiers life. To which lessons, he had such a dexterous proclitie, as his teachers

were faine to reſtraine his forwardneſſe; to the end that his brothers who were under the ſame trayning might hold pace with him. About the Age of Eighteene he travelled into *France*, where he improved himſelfe well in the Language for one, that had ſo little Grammaticall foundation, but more in the exerciſes of that Nobility for the ſpace of three yeeres. And yet came home in his naturall plight, without affected formes (the ordinary diſeaſe of Travellers. After his returne, he paſſed againe one whole yeere (as before) at *Goodby* under the Winge and Councells of his Mother: And then was forward to become a ſuter at *London* to Sir *Roger Aſtons* Daughter, a Gentleman of the Bed chamber to King *James*, and Maſter of his Roabes, about which times, he falls into intrinſecall ſociety with Sir *John Graham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privie Chamber, who I know not upon what Luminaries he ſpyed in his face, diſſwaded him from marriage, and gave him rather incouragement to woo fortune in Court, which adviſe ſancke well into his fancy, for within ſome while, the King had taken by certaine Glaunces, (whereof the firſt was at *Apt horpe* in a progreſſe) ſuch liking of his perſon, that he reſolved to make him a Maſter-piece, and to Mould him as it were Platonically to his owne *Idea*. Neither was his Maſteſlie content onely to be the Architect of his fortune, without putting his Gracious hand likewise to ſome part of the worke it ſelfe. In ſomuch as it pleaſed him to deſcend and to avale his goodneſſe, even to the giving of his forſaid friend Sir *John Graham* ſecret directions, how and by what degrees he ſhould bring him into favour. But this was quickly diſcovered by him, who was then as yet in ſome poſſeſſion of the Kings Heart. For there is nothing more Vigilant, nothing more jealous, then a favorite, eſpecially towards the waning time and ſuſpect of ſociety, ſo as many Arts were uſed to diſcuſſe the beginnings of new affliction, (which lye out of my Roade) being a part of an-

other mans story) All which notwithstanding (for I omit things intervenient) there is Conveyed to Master *Villers* an intimation of the Kings pleasure to waite and to be sworne his servant. And shortly after his Cup-bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in ordinary. After which time favours came thicke upon him, (liker mayne showers, then sprinkling Droppes or Dewes) for the next Saint *Georges-day* he was Knighted and made Gentleman of the Kings-Bed-chamber, and the same very day had an Annuall pension given him for his better support of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At *Newyears-tide* following the King chose him Master of the Horse, After this hee was installed of the most Noble Order; And in the next *August* he Created him Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villers*. In *January* of the same yeere he was advanced Earle of *Buckingham*, and sworne here of his Majesties Privie Counsell: As if a favorite were not so before, the *March* ensuing he attended the King into *Scotland*, And was likewise sworne a Counsellor in that Kingdome, whereas (I have beene instructed by unpassionate men) he did carry himselfe with singular sweetness and temper, which I held very credible for it behoved him, being new in favor, and succeeding one of their owne; to study a moderate stile among those generous Spirits. About *Newyears-tide* after his return from thence (for those beginnings of yeeres were very propitious unto him, as if Kings did choose remarkable dayes to inaugurate their favors, that they may appeare Ages aswell of the times, as of the Will) he was Created Marquis of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admirall of *England*, Chiefe Justice in Eyre of all the Parkes and Forrests in the South-side of *Trent*, Master of the Kings-Bench office (none of the unprofitablest peeces). Head Steward of *Westminster*, and Constable of *Windor-Castle*.

Here I must breath a while to satisfy some that perhaps

haps might otherwise wonder at such an Accumulation of benefits, like a kinde of Embroidering or listing of one favour upon another. Certainly the hearts of great Princes, if they be considered as it were in abstract, without the necessity of States and Circumstances of time being besides their naturall extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at first they give onely vpon Choice and love of the person, yet within a while themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no lesse then Parents doe their Children: but let us goe on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed and these of the like nature which I shall after set downe in their place, (were as I am ready to say) but the facings or fringes of his greatnesse, in comparison of that trust, which his last most gracious Master did cast vpon him, in the one and twentieth yeere of his Raigne when he made him the Chiefe concomitant of his heire apparant, and only sonne, our deere Sovereigne: now being in a journey of much Adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacie) had beene before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most reserved Counsellors at home, being carryed with great closenesse, liker a busines of love then state; as it was in the first intendment. Now because the whole Kingdome stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have beene the more desirous to research with some diligence, the severall passages of the said journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion, in this yeere 1623. on Tewesday the 18. of February from the Marquis his house of late purchase; at *Newhall in Essex*, setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of *Thomas* and *Iohn Smith*, And then attended

with none, but *Sir Richard Graham* Master of the Horse to the Marquisse, and besidward trust about him. When they passed the River against *Gravesend*, for lacke of silver they were faine to give the Ferry-man a pecke of two and twenty shillings, which strooke the poore fellow into such a melting tendernesse, that so good Gentlemen should be going, (for to he suspected) to waite some quarrell beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the Officers of the Towne, with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for there stay at *Rochester*, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French Embassador, with the Kings Coach and other attending him, which made them bleach, the beaten Roade, and teach Post-hackneys to leape hedges. At *Canterbury*, whether some voyce, (as it should seeme,) was runne on before, the Mayor of the Towne came himselfe to seise on them, as they were taking fresh Horses, in a blunt manner, alleadging first a warrant to stop them from the Councell; next from *Sir Lewis Linnker* Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from *Sir Henry Manwaring* then Lieutenant of *Dover* Castle. At all which confused fiction, the Marquis had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismaske his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company to take a secret view (being Admirall) of the forwardnesse of his Majesties Fleete, which was then in preparation on the Narrow Seas: this with much adoe did somewhat hanfomly heale the disguisment. On the way, on afterwards, the baggage post boy, who had bene at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; But his mouth was easily shut. To *Dover*, though had Horses, and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found *Sir Francis Celsington* then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of *Hunstanton*,

Hawart, and Master *Enghien* *Panp*, who had been sent before to provide a Vessel for their transportation. The foresaid Knight was enjoined for the necessity of his place on the Prince's affairs, and for his long Residence in the Court of *Spain*, where he had gotten singular credit, even with that cautious Nation by the temper of his Carriage. Master *Porter* was taken in, not only as a Bed-chamber servant of Confidence to his Highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful Instrument for his natural skill in the *Spanish* tongue. And these five were at the first the whole Parada of this journey. The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the 16. of the foresaid Month taking ship at *Dover*, about six of the clock, they landed the same day at *Bulloyn* in *France*, neere two houres after Noone; reaching *Monstruell* that night: (like men of dispatch) and *Paris* the second day after, being *Friday* the one and twentieth; but some three posts before, they had met with two *German* Gentlemen that came newly from *England*, where they had seen at *Newmarket* the Prince and the Marquis taking Coach together with the King, and retained such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out faced by *Sir Richard Graham*, who would needs perswade them they were mistaken: which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing it selfe; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and favorite so suddenly Metamorphized into travellers with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this I suppose next the assurance of their owne well-resolved Carriage; against any new accident to have beene their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At *Paris* the Prince spent one whole day to give his minde some contentment in veiwing of a famous City and Court, which was a neighbour to his future estates, But for the better

Veiling of their visages, his Highnesse and the Marquess bought each of them a Perriwigge somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the King they got a sight after dinner in a Gallery where he was solacing himselfe with familiar pleasures. And of the Queene Mother as shee was at her owne Table, In neither place desired, no not by *Monsieur Gadinot*, who saw them in both, one hath bin lately Ambassador in *England*. Towards Evening, by a meere chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full sight of the Queene *Infanta*, and of the princeesse *Henriette Marie*, with other great Ladyes at the practise of a Masquing Daunce, which was then in preparation; having overheard two Gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed and and were let in by the Duke *De Mont Basen*, the Queenes Lord Chamberlaine, out of humanity to strangers when diverse of the *French* went by. Note here even with a point of a Diamond by what oblige steppes and imaginable preparations, the high disposes of Princes affections doth sometimes contrive the secrets of his will; for by this casual curiosity, it fell out that when afterwards the marriage came in motion betweene our Sovereigne Lord and the aforesaid most Amiable Princeesse. It must needs be (howsoever unknowne) no small spurrs to the treaty, that shee hath not before beene altogether a stranger to his Eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clocke in the morning from *Paris* being the 23. of *February* were spent six dayes to *Bayon*, the last Towne of *France*, having before at *Bordeaux*, bought them five Riding Coates, all of one colour and fashion in a kinde of Noble simplicity, where Sir *Francis Cottingson* was employed in a faire manner to keepe them from being entertained by the Duke *De Espernon*, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little Courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himselfe no superficiall man

in the practizes of the World, have peirced somewhat deeper then their out-side.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, & could get no flesh in their Innes, Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage. (If I may insert it by the way among more serious) there was neere *Bayon*, a heard of Goates with their young ones, upon which sight, the said Sir *Richard Greham* tells the Marquesse, he would snap one of the Kids and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging; which the Prince over-hearing, why *Richard* sayes he, do you think you may practise here your old trickes againe upon the borders, Vpon which words they first gave the Goate heard good contentment, and then while the Marquesse and his servant being both on foote were chasing the Kidde about the stacke, the Prince from Horse-backe killed him in the head with a *Scottish Pistol*. let this serue for a Iournall Parenthesis, which yet may shew how his Highnesse even in such slight and sportfull damage had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At *Bayon*, the Count *De Gramont* Governour of that jealousie kay tooke an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour & opened himselfe to some of his traine; that he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth then their habits bewrayed, yet he let them courteously passe. And foure dayes after, they arrived at *Madrid*, being *Wednesday* the fift of *March*. Thus have I briefly runned over transcriptions; as if my pen had bin posting with them; which done, I shall not neede to relate the affluence of our Nobles and others from hence into *Spainne*, after the voyce of our Prince his being there had beene quickly noysed, and at length beleaved, neither will I stay to consider the Arts of *Rome*, where now all Engines were Whetted (though

by the Divine blessing very vainly, when they had gotten a Prince of great *Brittaine*, upon Catholicke ground as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the Apprehensions on both sides, the apparance on neither. And in summe, all the circumstances and respect of Religion and State, intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royall History or a Counsell table, then a single life, yet I cannot omit some things which intervened, at the meeting of two Pleiades, me thinks not unlike that which Astrologers call a conjunction of Planets, of no very benigne Aspect, the one to the other; I meane the Marquis of *Buckingham*, and the *Comde D'Olivers*: They had some sharper, and some milder differences which might easily happen in such an interveene of *Grandes*, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon a supposition of the *Comdes*, (as fancies are cheape) that the Marques had intimated unto her some hopes of the Prince his conversion, which coming into debate, the Marquesse so roundly disfavoured this Guilded dreame, as *Olivers* alleadged he had given him *La-Mensida*, and thereupon formes a Compliment to the Prince himselfe; which *Buckingham* denying, and yet *Olivers* persisting in the said Compliment, the Marquesse though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his honour and the truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heate, that the *Comdes* asseveration would force him to doe that which he had not done before, for now he held himselfe tyed in termes of a Gentleman, to maintaine the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest

highest and the hardest point that occurred betwene them; which that it went so faire, was not the Dukes fault, nor his fault, neither (as it should seeme) that it went no farther.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The *Comde d'Olivers* tells the *Marquise* of a certaine flying noyle that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone, to which the *Marquis* gave a well tempered answer, that though love had made his Highnesse steale out of his owne Countrey, yet feare would never make him runne out of *Spain* in other manner then should become a Prince of his Royall and generous Vertues. In *Spain* they stayed nere eight intire moneths, during all which times, who but *Buckingham*, lay at home under millions of male-dictions, which yet, at the Prince his safe arrivall in the *West* did die and vanish here and there into praises and eligyes, according to the Contrary motions of popular waves. And now to summe up the fruite of the journey, discourses ranne thus among the clearest observers. It was said, that the Prince himselfe, without any imaginable staine of his Religion, had by the sight of forraigne Courts, and observations of the different natures of people, and Rules of government, much excited and awaked his Spirits, and corroborated his judgement: And as for the *Marquis*, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained, first he was returned with encrease of title, having there beene made Duke, by Patent sent him, which was the highest degree wherof an English subject could

could be capable. But the other was farre greater, though closer, for by so long and so private, and so various consociation with a Prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his owne fortune and greatnesse; whereas otherwise the estate of a favorite is at the best, but a Tennant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the *Spanish* Commission which in publique conceit was the maine scope of the Iourney, that was left in great suspence, and after some time utterly laid aside, which threw the Duke amongst free Witts (whereof we have a Ranke soile) under diverse Censures, the most part were apt to beleeve, that hee had brought downe some deepe distaste from *Spaine*, which exasperated his Counceils; Neither was there wanting some other that thought him altogether voyd of a little Ambition to shew his power, either to knit or dissolve. Howsoever the whole Scene of affaires was changed from *Spaine* to *France*, there now lay the prospective, which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of State being even attributed to the powerfullst under Princes; (as the manner is where the eminency of one obscurereth the Rest) the Duke became suddainly and strangely Gracious among the multitude, and was even in Parliament highly extolled; so as hee did seeme for a time to have overcome that naturall Incomparability, which in the experience of all ages hath beene noted betwene the vulgar and the Sovereigne favour, but this was no more then a mere Bubble or Blaft, and like

like an Ephemerall fit of applause, it eeffoone will appeare in the fequel, and traine of his life; I had almost forgotten, that after his returne from *Spain*, hee was made Lord Warden of the Sinqe-Ports (which is as it were a second Admiralty) and Steward likewise of the Manneur of *Hampton Court*; Dignities and Offices still growing of trust or profit. And the King now giving not onely out of a beneficent disposition, but a very habituall and confirmed custome, one yeere, sixe Moneths, two dayes, after the joyfull reception of the Prince his sonne from *Spain*. King *James* of immortall memory (among all the lovers and admirers of Divine and humane Sapience) Accomplisheth at *Theobalds* his owne dayes on Earth, under whom the Duke had runne a long Course of Calme and smooth prosperity; likewise long for the ordinaty life of favour, and the more notable, because it had beene without any Visible Eclipse, or Wane in himselfe, amidst diverse variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his marriage, for mediate establishment of the Royall line, wherein the Duke having had an especiall hand hee was sent to conduct thither the most lovely and Vertuous Princessse *Henriette Marie*, youngest daughter to the great *Henry of Bourbon*, of whom his Majestic as hath beene said, had an ambulatory view in his travells, like a stollen taste of something

something that provoketh appetite) Hee was accompanied with none of our Peeres, but the Earle of *Montgomery*, now Lord Chamberlaine, a Noble Gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature, and truly no insurable Associate, for that hee himselfe likewise at the beginning of King *James*, had runne his Circle in the Wheeling Vicissitude of favour. And heere I must crave leave, in such of high quality, or other of particular note, as shall fall under my pen (whereof this is the first) not to let them passe, without their due Character being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this Ambassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formalitie then matter (for all the essentiall Conditions were before concluded) could howsoever want no Ornaments or bravery to adorne it: among which I am neere thinking it worth of a little remembrance, that the Duke one solemne day Georgeously clad in a suite all over-spread with Diamonds, and having lost one of them of good Value, perchance as hee might be dauncing after his manner with lofty motions: It was strangely recovered againe, the next morning in a Court full of Pages, such a diligent attendant was fortune, every where both abroad and at home.

After this faire discharge, all civill honours having shewred on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, a breach first with *Spain*, and not long after with *France*: it selfe, notwithstanding so
streight

freight an affinity, so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with other. As if indeed, according to that pleasant Maxime of State, Kingdomes were never married, this must of necessity involve the Duke in business enough, to have over-set a lesser Vessell, being the next Commander under the Crowne of Portes and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those Overtures of publicke employment, for at the Parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in Maritime service had bin somewhat shrewdly touched, even before the flukes & floudgates of popular liberty were yet set open, so as to wipe out that objection, hee did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majesties untrobled and serene Commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a Rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layen oyled, The Magazines of Munition are viewed, The Officers of Remaines called to account, frequent Counsells of Warre, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain.

The Duke himselfe personally employed to the States Generall. And with him joyned in full Commission the Earle of Holland, a Peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable vertue for publicke use.

These two Nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their Ships were foundered, arrived the fift day at the Hage in Holland, here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the Ministers of diverse allyed, and confederate Princes, about a Common direction for the recovery of the Palatinate, where the Kings only Sisters Dowager had been

beene ravished by the *German Eagle*, mixed with
Spanish Feathers, a Princess resplescent in darknesse,
 and whose vertues were borne within the chauce, but
 without the power of fortune. Here, it were iniurious to
 overslip a Noble act in the Duke during this
 imployment, which I must for my part celebrate
 above all his expenses; there was a Collection of
 certain rare Manuscripts, exquisitly written in Arabique
 and bought in the most remote parts by the dili-
 gence of *Erpinus*, the most Excellent Linguist, these
 had beene left to the Widdow of the said
Erpinus, and were upon saile to the Iesuits
 at *Aurwerpe*; Licentious Chapmen of such Ware.
 Whereof the Duke getting knowledge, by his
 worthy and learned Secretary Doctor *Mason*, Inter-
 verted the bargain, and gave the poore Widdow
 for them five hundred pounds, a summe above their
 weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty
 and charity, the more laudable being much out of
 his naturall Element. These were they, which after his
 death were as Nobly presented, as they had beene
 bought, to the University of *Cambridge*, by the
 Dutchesse Dowager, as soone as she understood by the a-
 foresaid Doctor *Mason*, her husbands intention, who had
 a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in
 the said University (whereof he was Chancellour) a faire
 case for such Monuments, and to furnish it with other
 choice collections from all parts of his own charge, per-
 chance in some Emulation of that famous Treasury of
 knowledge at *Oxford*: without paralel in the Christian
 world. But let me resume the file of my relation, which
 this Object of bookes (best agreeable to my course of
 life) hath a little interrupted, the foresaid Negotiation
 though prosecuted with heale and probable appa-
 rance

of great effects, took up a Month before the Dukes return from his excentricity (for so I account favourites abroad) and then at home he met with no good News of the *Cádiz* Attempt: In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much solicitude *ex officio*, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late setting out, and by some contrarie ty of Weather at Sea; whereby the particular designs took vent before-hand, a point hardly avoydable in actions of noyse, especially where the great *Indian Key* to all Cabinets is working. Not long after this, the King pondering in his Wisdom the weight of his forraign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at *Westminster*; this was that Assembly where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the Dukes Case, from the most exalted, as he had been, both in another Parliament, and in common voyce before) to the most depressed now, as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the *Low-Provinces*, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope, which being the single example that our Annals have yeelded, from the time of *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolke*, under *Henry* the sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes; within so short time, by most of the same Commenders and disprovers, like the Naturall breath of man, that can both heat and cool) would require no slight memoriall of the particular Motives of so great a change, how that the whole Case was disperfed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgeses of Towns, thorow all the Veynes of the Land, and may be taken by any at pleasure, out of the Parliament Registers: Besides that, I observe it not usuall amongst the best patterns, to stuffe the report of particular lives, with matters of publike record, but rather to dive (as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my pen) into secret and proper afflictions; howsoever somewhat I must note in this strange Phenomenon: It began from a travelled Doctor of Physick, of bold spirit, and of able Elocution; who being returned one of the Burgeses

(which was not ordinary in any of his Coat) fell by a Metaphoricall Allusion, translate from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke as a main cause of divers infirmities in the State, or neer that purpose; being sure enough of Seconds, after the first On-set, in the Lower House. As for any close intelligence that they had before-hand with some in the higher (though that likewise was said, I want ground to affirm or believe it more then a generall conceit) which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were neerest the object which we see so familiar, both in naturall and morall causes, the Dukes answers to his apprehensions, in number thirteen, I finde very diligently and civilly couched: and though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble spirit one way, equitable consideration, which could not possesse every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of neer fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out, could not be expected to be pure and white and fine Meal, but must needs have withall among it a certain mixture of Palar and Bran, in this lower age of humane fragility: howsoever this tempest did onely shake, and not rent his sayls; for His Majesties considering that almost all his apprehensions were without the compasse of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing alledged against him, had, or could be proved by Oath, according to the Constitution of the House of Commons, which the Duke himself did not forget in the Preface of his answers. And lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participations of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own naturall goodnesse, to support him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimony of divers important imputations; whereof the truth is best known to His Majesty while he was Prince. The Summer following, this Parliament (after an Embark of our trading Ships in the River of Bourdeaux, and other points of Sovereign affront there did succeed the action of *Rix*) wherein the Duke

Duke was personally employed on either element, both as Admirall and Generall, with hope in that service to recover the publike good will, which he saw by his own example might quickly be won and lost: This action as I hear hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much learning and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which in truth he greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure even from some of the *French* Writers then it had generally amongst our selves at home; Now because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes, and there only touching the Dukes own deportment in that Island the proper subject of my quill, for in the generall survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally disturbed on both sides, as if fortune had meant we should quickly be friends again, wherein let their names that were bravely lost, be rather memorized in the full table of time, for my part I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The Dukes carriage was surely Noble throughout to the Gentlemen of faire respect, bountifull to the Souldier, according to any speciall value which he spied in any, tender and carefull of those that were hurt, of unquestionable Courage in himself and rather fearfull of fame, then danger: In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration even after the succours which he expected did fail him, but the lesse he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions: for certain it is, That to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor *Mason*, whom he layd in a Pallet neer him, for naturall Ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate Eruptions, protesting, That never his dispatches to divers Princes, nor the great businesse of a Fleet of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his report, as a conceit, That some at home, under His Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget

him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at coniectures. Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor he would not take the other; but in the generall Town he maintained a seisure and possession of the whole, three full months, and eighteen dayes; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden Vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat: where succeeded such a defeat of neer two hundred Horse (and these not by his guesse) mounted in haste. But the most part Gentlemen of Family, and great resolution, seconded with 2000 Foot, as all circumstances well ballanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest Impressions in ancient time: in the issue of the whole businesse, he seems charged in opinion with a kinde of improvident conscience, having brought off that with him to Camp, perchance too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him: Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of Arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause. At his return to *Plimouth*, a strange accident befell him, perchance not so worthy of memory for it self, as for that it seemeth to have been a kinde of prelude to his finall period.

The now Lord *Goring* a Gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sends to the Duke in all expedition an expresse messenger, with advisement to assure his own Person, by declining the ordinary Road to *London*, for that he had credible intelligence of a plot against His life to be put in Execution upon him in his said journey towards the Court: The Duke meeting the messenger on the way, read the Letter, and smothering it in his pocket without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards: His Company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence, then with ordinary swords: after this, the Duke had advanced three miles before he met with an old woman neer a Town in the road, who demanded whether the Duke were in the Company; and bewraying some speciall occasion to
be

be brought to him, was lead to his horse side, where she told him that in the very next Town where He was to passe, she had heard some desperate men vow his death: And thereupon would have directed him about by a surer way, this old womans casuall accessse joyn'd with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenor of the said Letter and all the circumstances, with his Company, who were joyntly upon consent that the woman had advised him well; Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous then provident, that if as he said she, should but once by such a diversion make his enemy beleieve he were afraid of danger, he should never live without: Hereupon his yong Nephew, Lord Viscount *Fielding* being then in his Company, out of a noble spirit besought him that he would at least honour him with his Coat and blew Riban through the Town, pleading that his Uncles life whereon lay the property of his whole Family was of all things under heaven the most pretious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and mussell up himself in his hood, as the Dukes manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him, from him; And so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence, at which sweeter proposition, the Duke caught him in his armes and kissed him; yet would not as he said accept of such an offer in that case, from a Nephew whose life he tendred as much as himself: And so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good will; after some short directions to his Company how they should carry themselves, he road on without perturbation of his minde, he was no sooner entred into the Town, but a scambling Souldier clapt hold of his bridle, which thought it was in a begging or perchance somewhat worse, in a drunken fashion, yet a Gentleman of his trayne that road a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premisses it might be a beginning of some mischevious intent, spurred up his horse, and with a violent roush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quickly

through the Town, neither for ought I can heare was there any further inquiry into that practise, the Duke peradventure thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep, at his return to the Court he found no change in Fates, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant Gentlemen, against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time, after the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate issue at *Rhes*, the Dukes fame did still remain more and more in oblique among the masse of people, whose judgements are only reconciled with good successes, so as he saw plainly that he must abroad again to rectifie with his best endeavour under the publique service, his own reputation; Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea: And in the mean while, he was not unmindfull in his civill course to cast an eye upon the wayes to win unto him such as have been a principle credit in the Lower house of Parliament, applying lenities, or subducing from that part where he knew the humors were sharpest, amidst which thoughts, he was surpris'd with a fatal stroke, written in the black book of necessity.

There was a yonger brother of mean fortunes born in the County of *Sussex*, by name *John Felton*, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent, and glony constitution, but bred in the active way of a souldier, and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenant to a foot-company in the Regiment of Sir *James Rumsay*, this was the man that closely within himself had concealed the Dukes death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that fellonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was said at first that he had been stung with a deniall of his Captains place, who dyed in England, whereof thus much indeed is true, that the Duke before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his Colonell, he found him to interpret for one *Powell* his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and
 accor-

according to military custome, the place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonells company might well pretend to the next vacant Captain-ship under the same Regiment, which *Felton* acknowledged to be in it self very usuall and equitable, besides the speciall merit of the person, so as aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured upon their deniall had no true ground; there was no other imagination that between a Knight of the same Countie, whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour, and the said *Felton*, there had been ancient quarrells not yet well healed, which might perhaps lye festring in his breast, and by a certain inflammation product this effect; but that carries small probability that *Felton* would so deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more then an oblique sacrifice, to the fumes of his private revenges upon a third person: therefore the truth is, that either too honest a deed after it was done, or to stumbe his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives, alledging not three hours before his execution to Sir *Richard Graham* two only Inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book written by one *Eggleston* a Scottish Phyitian, which made the Duke one of the foulest Monsters upon the earth, and indeed unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King; but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth.

The second, was the Remonstrance it self of the Lower House of Parliament against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place, whatsoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine, but the Prince of darkenesse it self; he did thus prosecute the effect. In a by-Cutlers shop on Tower hill, he bought a ten-penny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket) that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other: This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on horse-

horse back and partly on foot, to get to *Portsmouth*, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation, at *Portsmouth* on Saturday being the 23. of *August* of that currant year, he pressed without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inward Chamber where the Duke was at breakefast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with *Monfieur de Soubert*, and *Sir Thomas Fryer*, and there a little before the Dukes rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should Passe through a kinde of Lobby between that room and the next, where divers attending him; towards which passage, as I conceive somewhat darker then the Chamber, which he voided, while the Duke came with *Sir Thomas Fryer* close at his ear, in the very moment as the said Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, a Saffinate gave him with a back blow a deep wotind into his left side, leaving the knife in his body, which the Duke himself pulling out, on a suddain effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Certain it is, that some good while before *Sir Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave judgement, had in a private conference advised him to wear a privy Coat, whose Councell the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, that against any popular farie a shirt of mayle would be but a silly defence, and as for any single mans assault he took himself to be no danger: So darke is destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I must confesse, to me beyond all wonder (as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured.) That within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removall thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, no more then if it had lien in the Sands of *Aethiopia*; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place,

place, to hearken and to see: But it should seem the very
horror of the fact, had stupified all curiosity, and so dis-
persed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer
himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow none
could affirm, if he had not lingered about the house below, nor
by any confused arrest of conscience (as hath been seen in
like examples) but by very pride in his own deed, as if
in effect there were little difference between being remem-
bered by a vertuous fame, or an Illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great Peer in the 36th year of his age com-
pleat, and three dayes over, in a time of great recourse
unto him, and dependance upon him, the house and
Town full of servants and suters: His Dutchesse in an up-
per room, scarce yet out of her bed, and the Court at that
time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been
the stage of his greatnesse.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous
presagement before his end; wherein though both anti-
ent and modern Stories have been infected with much vani-
ty; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kind which
may bear a sober constitution, whereof I will glean two
or three in the Dukes case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of *Canterbu-
ry*, the only Bishop of *London*, whom he knew well planted
in the Kings unchangeable affection, by his own great a-
bilities, after cortesies of courage had passed between them,
My Lord sayes the Duke, I know your Lordship hath very
worthily good access to the King our Sovereign, let me
pray you to put His Majesty in minde to be good, as I no
way distrust, to my poor wife and children: at which words
or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, My Lord
Bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to
ask him where he had never any secret abodements in hi-
minde. No (replied the Duke) but I think some adven-
ture may kill me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indispo-
sition

friction of body, the King was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, and after much serious and private discourse, The Duke at His Majesties departing, embraced him in a very unusuall and passionate manner, and in like sort to his friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his soule had divined he should see them no more, which insuptions towards farall ends, had been observed by some Authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the Countesse of *Denbigh* received a Letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears: And after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yeeld no reason, but, That her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoond. Her said letter endeth thus:

I will pray for your happy return, which I look as with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to beare without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.

The day following, the Bishop of *Ely*, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her minde to receive such a dolefull accident, came to visite her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, Her brother seeming toasse her in a field with her in her Coach; where hearing of a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of *Buckingham* was sick: Which naturall Impression she scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bed-chamber for a chosen Messenger of the Dukes death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgement, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of fancy.

He took to wife, eight yeeres and two months before his death, the Lady *Katherine Manners*, Heir general to the Noble House of *Rutland*; who besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons and a daughter, called the Lady *Mary*, his first borne; his eldest son died at Nurse, be-
for

fore his journey as *Aben*; and his third, the Lord *Francis*, was born after his fathers death; so as neither his first nor his last were participant of any sence of his misfortune or felicities: His second son, now Duke of *Buckingham* was born, to cheer him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable vertues of her person and minde, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, bequeathing her all his Mansion-houses during her naturall life; and a power to dispose of his whole personall estate, together with a fourth part of his Lands in Joynture: He left his elder brother of the same womb a Viscount, and his younger an Earl; Sir *Edward Villers*, his half brother on the fathers side, he either preferred or removed (call it how thou wilt) from his step-mothers eye to the presidentship, where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died with as much grief of the whole Providence, as ever any Governour did. Before his Religious Lady of sweet and Noble direction, adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and heir of the Name, was made a Baronet; but abstained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatness of self fruition.

He left his mother a Countesse by Patent, in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare, since the dayes of Queen *Mary*. His sister of *Denbigh* (that right character of a good Lady) he most humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a discharge of some French in her Court that were to return, took her into three severall places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particullar Branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the name of *Villers* or *Beaumont*, within any neer degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully, with Earls sonnes and heirs, or at least with Knights, or Divinity, and of plentifull condition. He did not much strengthen his own

substance in Court, but stood there on his own feet; for the truth is, the most of his Allies rather leaned upon him, then shouldered him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries, or of Office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to sollicit his causes: He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame.

Things very seldome consecrated in the Instruments of great Personages.



FINIS.

